UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

A Plan to Abolish War *and* Secure World Peace

Not the Bok Prize Plan

By

J. T. SUNDERLAND

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCII. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1924 NUMBER 24

IF WE BUT HELD THY GOLDEN RULE SUPREME

O Brother Christ, Yoke-Fellow of mankind,
Help us in Thy great love our way to find,
Help us in every creature dear to Thee
Howe'er despised, a brother man to see.

If we but held Thy Golden Rule supreme
For men and nations, soon wouldst Thou redeem
From maddening strife and toil, our harried race,
Stilled by Thy soothing, reconciling face.

Upon the world's great longing then would rise
Such light as never broke in eastern skies;
As if mankind from long and troubled sleep
Woke to Love's power, undreamed, vast, ocean-deep.

Greed from his pitiless jaws would loose the world
And red Ambition's pirate flags be furled;
The lily and the rose make glad the waste,
And men at last life's true elixir taste.

—*Henry Nehemiah Dodge.*

The gods that men have been industriously creating and for ages placing on golden thrones in the sky, have ceased to function. Their cities with streets of gold have crumbled into dust. The effective broom of science has done what all new brooms do, made a clean sweep. Again the cry has gone out across the waters, "Great Pan is dead!" And the gods, the products of man's fears, before whom he has bowed in awe, are gone! At last man can stand erect and unafraid. The oaks of Dodona no longer whisper secrets to the initiate, and the oracles of Apollo are silenced forever. Man can now hear the whisperings of the eternal within his own breast. His concern can no longer be the safety of his soul. He cannot escape the Living Presence if he will. The business of man is with his life. Immeasurable powers are within him. His great task is to learn how to use them. Out of every life flow influences that go on forever and a day, down the stream of time. What they are constitute his revelation of the God, not on a throne in the sky but who in the surging life about us reaches us in the form of ideals which beckon us upward. No longer are we in the business of creating gods. We are the revealers of God. The destiny of the race is being achieved in and through us. The world will be what we will it to be. There are no supernatural forces that are coming down from heaven to solve our problems. We are the creative agents through which peace will come into the world. The revelation of peace by man will be the revelation of God to men. Religion did not go out with the gods. But a new religion was revealed which made known to man his place and mission. No longer need he crouch before dreaded powers of the air, no longer need he think of himself as a puppet in the hands of either a cruel or benevolent god. He is the author and actor in the drama of life.

The outlawry of war by legal process is a movement now well under way. Parallel to this must be the movement for the outlawry of war by moral process—that is, by the repudiation of the minds and hearts of men. The time has come, in other words, when we must solemnly resolve that henceforth, under all circumstances whatsoever, we shall banish war from out our lives. This means for the individual that he will take a vow never to fight, never to answer the government's summons to military service, never to sanction or support or take part in war activities of any kind. It means for the schools that they will deliberately undertake to train boys and girls to regard war as murder, and thus to hate it as they hate every offense against mankind. It means for the churches that they will agree, as is now being bravely recommended by the *Christian Century,* to repudiate and condemn war absolutely, to organize against it, and to refuse to assist in its prosecution by the government. The churches, in other words, will not allow their buildings to be used as recruiting stations, their ministers as chaplains, their pulpits as propaganda agencies! The military men will be quick to call this treason, but such charge should have no affect upon those who see that war must go. To be guilty of treason against a nation engaged in war, is to be loyal to humanity and faithful to God. It is a question, in other words, of "the higher loyalty"; and in this case there can be no doubt that the higher loyalty is one upon which the state, least of all the military state, has no claim. UNITY, as an out-and-out pacifist journal, welcomes the growing sentiment for outlawry. Let war be banished by moral consent and legal enactment together, and the victory for peace will be at hand.

Every once in so often, some "beauty" conspicuous in the Broadway life of New York City is caught in some scandal, perhaps murdered as in the famous case of "Dot" King, or the more recent case of "Lou" Lawson. Invariably it is discovered that these women (1) drink freely and (2) have numerous male ad-

mirers. Newspapers publish sensational stories about bootleggers, cases of champagne and whisky, drinking bouts at restaurants and midnight suppers, and present in impressive parade the men, almost invariably *married* men, whose pictures and letters are discovered in the apartment, whose names appear in diaries, memorandum books, etc. All this is very dreadful, and one conclusion is always pressed home with eloquent emphasis by a certain section of the public—namely, that Prohibition is impossible! Here is this "high life" going on all the time, these girls getting all the liquor they want! Why not recognize that the prohibition laws are a failure, and get them out of the way? Laws that are constantly violated, and thus manifestly have not the support of the people, should be repealed, that our society may at least be honest, and law itself be held in respect and not in contempt. Well and good! But if this argument is sound, why should it not be applied all around? These girls have not only bottles in their cabinets but men in their boudoirs. These men, as we have said, are usually married. It is obvious that nothing is more common in our community than sexual promiscuity—nothing more impossible, therefore, than our marriage laws based on the fantastic and fanatical idea of monogamy. Imagine trying to rob a man of his liberty to associate with women indiscriminately! It can't be done—it is an infringement of freedom as wanton as it is incapable of enforcement. Hence—repeal our marriage laws, that we may not be an utterly lawless society!

Every once in a while we have a glimpse of the *Congressional Record,* and usually read something like the following. The Senator from California, Mr. Shortridge, is speaking to the Resolution calling for the ousting of Mr. Denby—

> The then President of the United States is in his grave. Like Duncan, he sleeps well.
>
> Malice domestic, foreign levy—nothing
> Can touch him further.
>
> It is even so with his great predecessor, the great President who has just now passed away. But I owe some duty to the living. I owe some duty to the dead. Whatever men may think, if anyone should rise in the Senate to-day impugning the patriotic motives of former President Wilson, I would resent it with indignation. It is the glory of our country that from Washington until this hour we have had a series, a succession of men honorable, compared with which there is no line of Cæsars or of kings; and I want to say to you this day that when you are here about to pass or asking us to pass a resolution which attacks the present living Secretary of the Navy, you are attacking the act of the late President Warren G. Harding.
>
> Let us be frank about it; let us be truthful; and let us not be afraid. Not in any spirit of bravado, not in any arrogant spirit, I say I am afraid of nothing in this world except it be to do wrong; and therefore I want it understood, and let the country know it—my people of California shall know it—that if this resolution is passed it will be a condemnation, a reflection upon the memory of the beloved and the deplored President Harding. And when I speak of my people, let me hasten to say this: The citizenry of California is made up of the people of all the States in the Union, from Florida and Georgia and Louisiana and Alabama—from Louisiana I remember so well, from Alabama I know so well, where, if I may say so, one of my own name sat upon, if he did not adorn, the high courts of that State. They come from Maryland, from old Virginia, from beautiful Kentucky; they come from classic New England; they come from the fertile, the progressive, splendid middle Mississippi Valley States. They come from all the 48 States to my beautiful California. They are made up there of the highest type of citizenship. They are Americans, and they loved President Harding as many of them loved President Wilson; and we, the Senate of the United States, are here called upon to condemn an act which, though it may be found to be illegal, though it may be found to have been executed without legal or constitutional authority, was executed with the purest motives, the highest purpose.

This sort of thing suggests to us a riddle. Why is the *Record* not like a Sunday newspaper? Answer: Its comic supplement runs anywhere through its columns, instead of having a separate section by itself.

The *Freeman* dies bravely! Nevertheless, we find only tragedy in its demise. Brilliantly written, serenely independent in opinion, utterly uncompromising alike in its criticism of sins and shams and its advocacy of high ideals, maintaining a lofty standard of literary and artistic culture, radical in the drastic sense of that much-abused word, this paper was unable to find in a population of more than 100,000,000 people enough readers to justify its continuance into its fifth year. "The *Freeman* is a success," says the editor in his farewell word. Yes—"a success" in everything that makes for the finer, freer, fuller things of life, but a failure in the mere endeavor to keep alive. This fact is wholly to the credit of the *Freeman;* in its death, as in its life, it chose not to compromise. But by the same token is this fact to the discredit of American intelligence to such an extent as to be a scandal of the first order. When we first heard this fatal news, we found ourselves looking at the display on a news-stand in the New York subway. Here were the familiar popular magazines — *Collier's Weekly, McClure's,* the *American,* the *Cosmopolitan,* etc.; here were the women's magazines—the *Ladies' Home Journal,* the *Woman's Home Companion,* the *Delineator,* etc.; here were the "movie" magazines, too many and too trivial to be named; here were "radio" magazines, beauty magazines, physical culture magazines, adventure magazines, *Snappy Stories, True Stories,* etc., etc., etc. Most of these papers were feverishly adorned with lovely women in all stages of undress—and all boasted circulations running from 750,000 to 2,000,000 and more! Just to look at this mass of intellectual garbage was enough to turn one's stomach. "Who reads such stuff," was the inevitable question. And the answer to the question is, Millions of men and women—college professors, college students, tired business men, idle women, clerks, stenographers, "flappers," messenger boys—millions from the top of the social scale to the bottom. And the *Freeman* couldn't get the few thousand readers needed to survive! Is it any wonder that it is hard sometimes to retain one's optimism!

We always love a tirade! Here is one in a recent issue of the *Universalist Leader,* directed against what

is called "the self-appointed savior of humanity." This man, it is declared, "announces a new universal cure-all for every Sabbath in the year."

On a particular Sunday he unfolds before his people the ills of society and comes to the passionate conclusion that birth-control is the panacea. Again he mounts the platform in a rage and illuminates the ether with a plea for the single tax. Yet again and again he describes human distress and saves dissolving society successively by the open shop, Gandhi, communism, sex-hygiene, deep-breathing, community church, profit-sharing, Freudism, affirmations, the distribution of germs in the lover's kiss and New Truth. He is the defender of every ephemeral cause, the latest phrase, the new and twisted generality. Six days are a painful waiting for him and he springs into the pulpit in feverish impatience to exhibit his last captive.

This certainly hits us hard! "Birth-control"?—we believe in it, preach it, and practice it. "Single tax"?—we have had it as a plank in our platform ever since we read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." "The Open Shop"?—Here there is obviously a slip-up, for, judging from the rest of his list, the writer of course means the closed shop—and we believe in *that!* "Gandhi"?—we confess that this Indian is, to us, the greatest man in the world. "Communism"?—no, we can't qualify; but we support the Communists if not Communism, for they are headed in the right direction. "Sex-hygiene"?—certainly. "Deep-breathing"?—well, if by this is meant good full lungs, an expanded chest, open air, and rosy cheeks, we say Amen, Amen. "Community church"?—Aye! the greatest religious movement since the Reformation. "Profit-sharing"?—a mild remedy, but good as far as it goes. "Freudism"?—we have had lectures on the subject at our church for four years past. "Affirmations"?—well, some say as how we are purty strong on negations, but affirmations is sure our doctrine. "Distribution of germs in the lover's kiss"?—we don't know much about the "germs," but we are romantic and the "lover's kiss" goes strong with us. "New Truth"?—absolutely, the newer the better. We qualify, in other words, a hundred per cent. The tirade hits us square in the bull's eye. And we are glad and proud of it.

We have a friend in one of the largest cities in this country who is much interested in the church problem. We asked him to visit systematically some of the churches in his community and report to us what he saw. In a recent letter, he writes—

I have visited two churches since I wrote you last and I will give you my impressions. Sunday before last I went to the ———— (Universalist) where ———— used to preach. This church is a wonderful illustration of a church dying its natural death, not able to adapt itself to the needs of the changing neighborhood. I was told that the old folks were dying off and others moved away, and that this left only a few to carry on the church. When I asked why new people didn't come in, I was told that the old folks did not care to have them. . . The church has a seating capacity of 500 or more. Thirty-five (35) turned out, which was called a good attendance.

Last Sunday I attended a church near ————, where the Universalists have organized services, and headquarters is pouring in money to keep things going. The highest membership has been 42, but some members have now left. The attendance was about 30. They have a preacher who is quite able, and preached a good sermon. . .

This is what James Matthew Barrie once called "a slice of life"—*two* slices! It's the kind of experience that one encounters when one starts out to investigate a situation in which the statistics reveal rapid growth, amazing prosperity, health and happiness all along the line. If we were once allowed to know the real facts about church membership and church attendance in this country, we would have a sensation which would make even the Japanese earthquake look insignificant. But we never will, be sure of that! Denominational headquarters will keep up their cheery camouflage till the churches rot as relics of decay.

The late Jaques Loeb was a great scientist—one of the greatest. He thrust his way into mysteries which awe the soul. For a time it seemed as though he were about to cross the threshold of life itself, and become as the Creator. These things, however, highly technical as they are, are beyond our ken. What we would here record is not our judgment of the scientist but our impression of the man. We remember our conference with him during the war on the matter of the preservation of American liberties. Never in all our experience did we behold such measure of contempt as Professor Loeb poured out upon the war, and the pretensions of the American government in entering the war. It was a tolerant contempt, an amused contempt, but a contempt none the less withering in its utter repudiation of the idealistic nonsense of those who were talking about a "war to end war," and so on. Professor Loeb looked at it all with the cool detachment of the scientist, and saw it for what it was—a simple phenomenon of economic cause and effect. Equally contemptuous was he of our efforts to save liberty and protect political offenders in this crisis. Here again he saw a mechanistic necessity at work. War destroys liberty!—why get excited about what is because it must be? And then, as a final sweeping survey of the whole business, how calmly he declared, "What difference does it all make, anyhow? Why should you or I do anything? It will all be the same in a thousand years from now." He was in his laboratory, in the sunny quiet of his scientific seclusion. As he dismissed us, he turned back to specimens, note-books, and instruments. We almost shuddered as we turned away—it was so morally paralyzing. Yet, was there any answer to his assertion?

Jottings

The Christian Herald is terribly exercised by the proposal of a literary couple to occupy separate homes and have their children brought up by trained experts. It has apparently never heard of such a thing! Yet the idea is at least as old as Plato and his "Republic."

Professor Strahan, commenting on George Adam Smith's Baird Lectures on Jeremiah, asks, "Was he (Jeremiah) a Pacifist?" (See the *British Weekly*, December 20th last). We advise him to read Stefan Zweig's great drama, "Jeremiah," and he will have an answer to his query.

We now have the Revised Version, and the Van Loon Perversion, of the Bible, says one critic. We cannot seem to make up our mind about this "Story of the Bible." It seems to us to be clever, in many ways helpful and illuminating, but also inaccurate, undignified, and sketchy. Whatever its merits, the book certainly falls short as an achievement of "The Story of Mankind."

The French franc drops to the lowest point in its history, and "money collapse menaces Hungary"—all in one day, February 19th! Evidently Europe is still on the road to ruin, and it doesn't make much difference whether a particular country was victor or vanquished in the last war.

The first legislation ever proposed by a Labor Government in England, was presented to the Commons on February 18th. On the same day the first answer ever given to a question by a woman member of a British Cabinet, came from Miss Margaret Bondfield. History is being made these days, and it is going right on being made for many days to come!

There is much talk in the newspapers about Rykoff, the successor of Lenin being an unknown man. Unknown, perhaps, to the newspapers who know so much that isn't so, and so little that *is* so, about Soviet Russia! But to those familiar with the situation it is evident enough that the Commissars, as usual, know exactly what they are doing. J. H. H.

Items from a Traveler's Note-Book

I had almost forgotten that there was any snow in the world, when I peeked out of my window in the sleeper, and discovered the whitened landscape of an up-state New York winter. Snow was falling through a chilly dawn, but my train was on time and brought me to Buffalo as I had planned. Here I passed pleasant hours in the company of friends, with reminders that it was St. Valentine's day; then, at early afternoon, caught my train for Erie where I had an evening appointment with the West 8th Street Jewish Temple. An audience that practically filled the auditorium, gave me hospitable welcome, and listened graciously to my over-long lecture on "Five Years After the War."

I discovered promptly, from personal conversation that I was in the K. K. K. country. The local sensation was the confession of the Kleagle of the Klan in this city to complicity in a notorious bank robbery. This form of Klan activity was new to me, and considerably more respectable, I thought, than the things in which Kleagles and other Klan members are usually engaged. But it was adding little to the popularity of the Knights of the flaming cross. That this whole territory, west into Ohio and Indiana, is sown thick with the white-sheeted brethren, was freely stated. In this part of the country at least the Klan is a formidable social and political phenomenon.

The next morning saw me on my way to Cleveland where I had engagements with Rabbi Silver's synagogue on Friday and Rabbi Goldman's synagogue on Sunday, with side trips to forum meetings in Youngstown and Elyria. Cleveland always impresses me as one of the most beautiful, as it certainly is one of the most prosperous, cities in America. Broad streets, handsome dwellings, wonderful churches and synagogues, business houses unexcelled even in New York, the long and stunning stretch of Euclid Avenue, Keith's Theatre which I suppose is unrivalled for beauty and luxury, the Auditorium where the Republican Convention is to be held, a model hotel (The Cleveland), a wonderful bridge, a fine police system, the Orchestra, the Musical Institute, the University, all unite to make this community impressive. Of course, it has its "outs." The railroad stations, for example, are indescribable for dirt, disrepair, inadequacy, and general ugliness, inconvenience and discomfort; wonderful stories about the new station which is on the way, offer poor compensation for present conditions. I have been going to Cleveland, now, for some five or six years, and I see no signs of progress toward what is evidently destined for another generation than the present. Then there are the newspapers—as silly and vile as the ordinary American journals, and showing no reflection of the culture and ideals of the city. Lastly, in Cleveland as in all mid-western cities, is the smoke nuisance, only it seems worse in Cleveland than in Pittsburgh or Cincinnati; for example, because the town itself is so attractive. And I wonder if it isn't actually worse? At any rate, I have never seen anywhere else chimneys so close to the ground, so near to the great thoroughfares and residential areas, belching such heavy clouds of soot into the air. To the easterner it seems incredible that such conditions can be allowed. But it is an old truth, of course, that we are blind to our own faults. A Clevelander visiting New York could undoubtedly show me evils of which I am entirely oblivious.

The most interesting thing I saw in Cleveland this time is the new temple now being erected for Rabbi Silver's great congregation. A stupendous building,

designed on the lines of the classic Jerusalem temple —magnificently located in one of the most attractive sections of the city—with a towering dome covering a great auditorium for some 2600 people—it is an impressive monument to the power of Rabbi Silver's personality, the significance of his work, and his place in the esteem of his people and the community at large. One of the most eloquent orators in America, a man of energy and prophetic passion, still in his early thirties, he looks out upon a wonderful prospect through the years ahead. He has nothing to fear but prosperity and fame.

Rabbi Goldman's temple was another stirring sight. This great structure I saw in full operation on a Sunday morning. It occupies an entire block, with the synagogue at one end and the offices and quarters for the extensive Center activities at the other. The synagogue auditorium is said to be the most beautiful in America—certainly I have seen nothing to rival it. Seating 1800 people in floor and balcony, it holds regularly an audience of not less than 1500 at the Friday evening services. On Sunday morning comes the religious school, which has a membership of many hundreds, and the large and lively forum which I had the honor of addressing.

These are two of the synagogues in Cleveland. Rabbi Wolsey's is a third—now erecting a great addition to its building, at a cost of some $350,000! The Jews in this city very evidently believe in their religion, and are not afraid to invest in it.

In Youngstown, where I addressed a forum audience at the local synagogue (Rabbi Philo) on Saturday night, I found myself in a veritable hot-bed of the Ku Klux Klan. In a recent election, the K. K. K. candidate for mayor had defeated five other candidates by a vote as large as all theirs put together. In this election, also, the local school board had been captured by the white-sheeted gangsters. A weekly newspaper, published by the Klan—the first thing of the kind I had ever seen!—interested me enormously. Here was abuse of everybody who disagreed with the Klan's brand of Americanism. Here were lists of members of the President's cabinet, the justices of the Supreme Court, the member nations of the League of Nations, with specific information in each case as to religious affiliations. It was evident from this type of information, as indeed it was specifically pointed out, that the League is simply a tool of the Pope, a kind of secret adjunct to the Vatican! Catholicism was the great bugaboo in this paper, with side-swipes at the Jews. I do not recall seeing any mention of Negroes. The most disgusting thing in the journal—to me, at least!—was a strenuous appeal to "go to church," together with a long list of churches endorsed by the Klan. It was a relief to note that the Unitarian church was not on the list, but every other sect seemed to be represented. Most of the clergymen, I was told, were openly pro-Klan. The miserable cowards!

In a nearby town, conditions were even worse—the government wholly in the hands of the Klan, and three papers (a daily and two weeklies) distributed instead of one. That whole section of Ohio is sown thick with propaganda, and completely terrorized. As a political power, the organization is bound to count enormously in the Presidential election. I came away with the conviction that we people in the East simply don't know what is going on. The Klansmen are not yet the Fascisti by any means, but they are making a strong bid for rivalry.

Elyria was visited through the snow in a speeding automobile. I met an eager forum audience gathered on Sunday afternoon in an orthodox church, but saw little of the town. It was especially pleasant to greet a party from Oberlin College eight miles away. What great institutions these forums are! How they get the people together! What a chance they give for spreading the truth! It is when I consider the forum audiences that I faced on this little trip into Ohio, that I can contemplate even such an abomination as the K. K. K. with much equanimity.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Military Men No Longer Desirable Husbands

The extent of the profound anti-military reaction in Japan is indicated in the following note from the *Japan Advertizer*. —DAVID STARR JORDAN.

The pupils of the well known Ochanomizu High School for girls in Tokyo have hitherto mostly come from the daughters of military men and government officials. When they finished the school course and graduated, the ambition of the pupil was generally to marry a man of the same class as her father. It is a sign of the times, remarks one of the dailies of the capital, that, recently, when a teacher asked the girls of this school what kind of men they would choose as husbands not one out of a hundred graduates voted for a soldier as a desirable life mate. This shows a great decline in the popularity of the military class amongst women.

The votes of the girls showed the following peculiar results:

Independent merchants	41
Bankers and employees in companies	12
Government officials	8
Technical experts (such as engineers, architects, craftsmen)	25
Artists and scholars	6
Aviator	1
	93

It is an interesting fact that not one expressed the wish to marry a soldier! How have the mighty fallen!

At one time, also, bankers and government officials were much sought after by girls, who wanted to get settled in life, but now, on account of the great economical depression everywhere keenly felt, the banks are decreasing the numbers of employees on their lists with all possible speed, so that, for those who depend on their salaries, it is not a bright outlook. Hence, girls elect to marry independent business men, as these can support themselves. But what astounded the teacher, who made this report of the result of her investigation, was the fact which she repeated in astonishment again and again, "Not one of them wanted to marry a military man!"

The matrimonial agencies report that, though, two or three years ago, their applicants wanted to marry army officers, this year, on their books, not one girl in the whole of the capital has sought a soldier bridegroom. This is surely a significant sign of the trend of the times!

A Plan to Abolish War and Secure World Peace

Not the Bok Prize Plan

How can intelligent men ever have dreamed that war could be stopped or prevented so long as it was internationally legal? If nations violate no law by fighting, why should they not fight, if they feel like it? If they are within their legal rights when they attack one another, who may presume to object? When war shall have been declared illegal by the joint action of the nations, when it shall have been made a crime, then, but not before, we shall be on the right road; then the necessarily first step and the longest single one will have been taken toward its abolition; because then we shall have summoned to confront and oppose it the two most powerful of all existing moral forces, namely, law—the law of the whole world—and general public opinion—the public opinion of the whole world. When once these two vast and well-nigh omnipotent forces shall have been arrayed against it—rising up like a wall of granite or of fire in the face of any nation that attacks or declares war against another, that moment the whole war system and war habit of the world will be "struck with death."

The author of the following believes that the Bok Prize Peace Plan now before this country, while possibly better than nothing (as to this he is not sure), is timid, hesitating, wanting in courage, wanting in vision, weak, falling utterly short of what the world needs and must have if civilization is to endure.

As he understands that plan, even if it is adopted by this country, it gives no assurance that it will abolish war; indeed, amazing as the fact seems, it does not even propose anything of the kind. Essentially all it contemplates is two actions, namely, the entry of the United States into the World Court, and certain kinds of limited outside co-operation by the United States with the League of Nations,—the first desirable, and the second questionable, but both only side matters, which, if they touch at all the main issue of destroying war, do it indirectly and feebly, and therefore with little or no promise of success.

The astonishing and absolutely fatal weakness of the Bok Prize Plan is, that it calls for neither the outlawing of war nor the disarming of the nations. In other words, it has no right to be called a plan to abolish war. Even if adopted by the United States, it will leave the settlement of international difficulties by war, by international murder and devastation just as legal and respectable as ever. And at the same time it will leave the world just as full as ever of war-breeding armies, navies, military fortifications, training camps, machine guns, bayonets, bombing air-planes, poison gas, and all the rest of its devil-machinery for creating international hate, fear, enmity, and therefore armed conflicts.

That men and women of intelligence, having any comprehension at all of what another war like that of 1914 to 1918 will mean to the whole world (the United States included), can long remain content with such a plan, seems to the present writer incredible. Even if, under the excitement of the hour and the pressure of the tremendous propaganda which has been organized in support of the plan, a temporary verdict in its favor is secured, he believes it can be only temporary. Sooner or later we must all awake to the necessity, not of temporizing, not of compromising, not of spending our energies on side issues however alluring, but of attacking and destroying war itself,—grappling with and once for all putting an end to the whole military system of the world, which, so long as it is allowed to exist, will and must (in the nature of things) make the recurrence of wars—wars of increasing horror and destructiveness—certain, and the coming of permanent peace impossible.

Believing this, the present writer ventures to propose the following Plan, which does not compromise, or resort to side-expedients, but aims, directly and without apology, at securing—securing by what he believes to be wholly reasonable and practical means—the end desired.

While not for a moment regarding his plan as perfect, or incapable of improvement, he is convinced that something in its general line—certainly something not less courageous, thorough and direct—is what the world must have if it is to live.

Outline of Plan

With a view to co-operation with other nations in a friendly, earnest, and supreme effort to achieve permanent security from war, the world's greatest peril, and to attain lasting peace, the world's most immediate and pressing need, the Government of the United States should take the following action, namely:

After due deliberation, but at the earliest practicable time, the United States Government should, alone or jointly with other nations (in any case, itself taking the initiative), call a World Conference, that is, a Conference of duly appointed representatives of all nations, for the following definite objects:

A. To outlaw war.

B. To establish a World Court — the present one modified or another.

C. To establish a World Assembly or Council, legislative and advisory in its nature—one of its duties being to codify a Law of Nations on the basis of the criminality of war.

D. To secure an agreement of all nations to disarm down to a police status, within a definitely stated and limited time after the last three objects mentioned above shall have been attained.

E. The United States in its Call for a Conference should definitely and solemnly promise, itself to disarm, so far as military provision for attacks upon or defense against other nations is concerned (that is, down to a strictly police status) at the same time that the others are asked to disarm. With regard to this pledge on her own part there must be left no room for doubt.

Amplification and Reasons

1. Nothing less than a World Conference—a Conference of all or practically all the nations—can be sufficiently influential or authoritative to accomplish successfully so difficult and stupendous a task as the outlawing of war, the disarming of the world, and the securing of permanent peace. But it is confidently believed that a united and determined world can do it. The evidences are overwhelming that all nations are

tired of war and eager for assured peace, and therefore are ready to welcome a practicable way to secure this infinitely desirable boon.

2. The Conference should be summoned soon. The reasons are plain. It is the almost unbroken judgment of intelligent students everywhere that there is danger not only of a continuation of the present limited local wars in Europe, but of the breaking out, within a not distant future, of another great war, in which many nations will be compelled to take part, probably our own included. Therefore whatever is done should be done at the very earliest practical date. Delay means peril.

3. The initiative in calling the Conference should be taken by the United States; indeed, the Call should be sent out either by the United States alone or by her and other nations jointly. A call issued by any European nation or nations, or even the League of Nations, could not succeed. To a greater or less degree the League is distrusted, even if not discredited. At least it can function only imperfectly so long as the United States (not to say Germany and Russia) is outside. As for the nations of Europe, they are in an utterly distracted condition. For the most part, they are poor, bowed to the earth under debts, suffering, starving, full of fear, tortured with hate, alienated from one another, entangled in alliances that hinder them from action and destroy their world influence. Therefore they are in no condition to lead in any kind of a world movement.

On the other hand, the United States is at peace, entangled in no alliances, free, prosperous, rich; and, although perhaps having less moral prestige in the world than at the close of the Great War, yet probably still quite as influential as any other nation. Therefore, the conclusion seems inescapable that upon her rests the duty, imperative as any duty can possibly be, to take the lead—a prompt, vigorous and strong lead—in a movement, for summoning a conference of all nations for the purposes named above.

4. The invitation to the Conference must be extended to *all* nations, Germany, Russia and Turkey included. This is vital. There are strong reasons for believing that all these nations would gladly accept, and would work in the Conference with entire good will. This alone would be a long step taken toward healing the world's sores, and creating the new spirit which is so deeply needed, of mutual trust, fraternity, and cooperation among the nations.

If any one objects, in the case of Russia, that America could not send an invitation to her because we have not officially recognized her present government, the answer is: The interests at stake in connection with such a World Conference as is proposed, are too tremendous to permit us to be balked by a mere diplomatic technicality. Moreover, has not the time come for us to extend official recognition to a government, even if in many respects we dislike it, which has lasted more than five years, with growing strength, and which can hardly be called worse than the old government of the Czar with which we always maintained diplomatic relations? Perhaps most important of all, is not the imperative need for Russia's presence in the Conference, itself a happy reason for her official recognition by us, that is, for her restoration, without unnecessary delay, to her former important place in the family of nations?

5. In the Call, as has been stated, the United States must clearly and unequivocally assure the nations that she will disarm, wholly disarm so far as preparation for international conflicts is concerned, within a limited and specified time after the ends proposed by the Conference (mentioned above) shall have been attained. This is necessary in order to convince the nations of her sincerity, and thus give her the moral power to lead. It should not be forgotten that the world is full of distrust; nor can we wonder that it is so, when we call to mind how much talk there has been by nations, about disarming, which has meant only the discarding of kinds of armaments that were no longer serviceable, or changes in forms of armaments which really increased the fighting strength of the nations professing to disarm.

The United States must not forget that she is feared by all the nations on the American continent, and by Japan; and there are evidences that she is feared also by some of the European nations. All these nations recognize that she is the strongest nation in the world in military possibilities, which means, of course, that she is the most dangerous nation in the world if she has militaristic and imperialistic ambitions, if she harbors secret designs of aggression and conquest. And how can natons who have in mind her dealings with Mexico, Porto Rico, and the far off Philippines, be sure that she does not possess such ambitions and secret designs? She must prevent any possibility of suspicion on the part of any nation. She must assure the world beyond a doubt that she is sincere; that she is unselfish; that she urges the Conference, not with any hidden purpose of gaining from it any advantage, military or other, over any other nation. She can do this only in one way, and that is by making it clear in the Call that she desires to turn her back on the whole militaristic system, as something which, even if it had a needed place in the past, is now outgrown and bad; that she is tired of war in all its phases and in all its forms, and is determined not to trifle with it, not to endeavor to ameliorate it, or to confine it within a little narrower boundaries, or to lessen slightly its fearful cost, or to reduce in some small measure the number of young men it slaughters and the number of women and children that it makes widows and orphans; but to do all in her power to banish the futile and evil thing from the earth, and to inaugurate in its place a new, enlightened, and infinitely more effective way of settling all international issues. If thus at the start she convinces the world that she is sincere, that she has no hidden or selfish purpose in view in summoning the conference, but that her sole desire is to render to humanity a great and much needed service, then the nations will heed her summons, will follow her lead gladly and earnestly, and we may confidently believe that the Conference will be in every way a success.

6. The duty and task of establishing the permanent World Court required by the present plan, and the decision of all questions as to its nature, functions, authority and rules of procedure, as also the question of whether it shall be created *de novo*, or, by the adoption of the present Court, with possible modifications and changes, and what such changes and modifications, if any, shall be, shall rest wholly in the hands of the Conference.

7. The Conference shall establish a permanent Legislative Assembly or Council, whose duty it shall be, (a) To create as soon as practicable a code of International Law on the basis of the criminality of inter-

national warfare, and the sole legality of international peace; and to continue its work of codification in the future as new light on international relations and changes in national and international conditions shall make alterations of or additions to the code, desirable; and (b) To carry on such lines of observation and investigation in connection with international and world affairs; and, as a result of the same, from time to time to make such reports and recommendations, as may seem to it of value to the nations, or as the nations may direct; and (c) In general, to serve the nations in any other ways that time and experiences of the future may demand. (d) The Conference shall have power, and it shall be its duty, to decide whether or not to associate itself in any way with the present League of Nations; and if the decision is in the affirmative, then under what conditions, and with what modifications and alterations of the League.

8. The Call of the Conference must make it unmistakable that the first object of the body is to be the Outlawing of War. There must be no misunderstanding here.

An analogy may properly be noted between the necessity for employing law in any effective effort to abolish war, and the corresponding necessity for employing law in all attempts to abolish other serious evils. War is national and international murder. Why not enact laws against it, outlaw it, make it a crime, just as we do in the case of individual and private murder? No nation could have any success in fighting robbery, arson, or forgery, if it did not make them crimes. In the case of duelling and slavery, there was long agitation against them,—which, of course, was important as preparing the way for law,—but nothing effective was accomplished, or could be, in the way of abolishing them, until they were declared illegal. Then they were both doomed.

How can intelligent men ever have dreamed that war could be stopped or prevented so long as it was internationally legal? If nations violate no law by fighting, why should they not fight, if they feel like it? If they are within their legal rights when they attack one another, who may presume to object? When war shall have been declared illegal by the joint action of the nations; when it shall have been made a crime; then, but not before, we shall be on the right road; then the necessarily first step and the longest single one will have been taken toward its abolition; because then we shall have summoned to confront and oppose it, the two most powerful of all existing moral forces, namely, law—the law of the whole world—and general public opinion—the public opinion of the whole world. When once these two vast and well-nigh omnipotent forces shall have been arrayed against it—rising up like a wall of granite or of fire in the face of any nation that attacks or declares war against another, that moment the whole war system and war habit of the world will be "struck with death." War will not at once disappear; the military mind, the cave-man's type of mind, which, in difficulties between nations, as in difficulties between persons, thinks first of brute force, of fighting, instead of resorting to reason and law, will here and there for a long time to come flame up into local conflicts. But with war made a crime, the military mind itself will tend to pass away, and in its place will come a mind that is ethical, that is intelligent, that is international, that is Christian and civilized, and therefore that will not fly to bayonets and bombs and human slaughter when international troubles arise, but to reason and conciliation and justice.

9. The world needs to open its eyes to the fact that, so far as peace is concerned, the supreme danger of our time is the persistence everywhere, even in the most enlightened nations, and in rulers and cabinets and diplomatic circles, of that evil inheritance from a barbarous and savage past—the military mind, the cave-man mind, the brute-in-the-jungle mind; in other words, the physical-force mind, the fight-instead-of-reason mind, the might-makes-right mind, the battleship-bayonet-and-bomb mind, the every-nation-for-itself-and-the-devil-take-the-hindermost mind, the unethical mind, the un-Christian and uncivilized mind,—which ought long ago to have been outgrown and left behind with the beasts of the jungle, and which it is the supreme duty of every lover of peace and of humanity to do all in his power to educate the world out of and away from. This military mind, this persistent cave-man mind, is the old serpent which has pursued and poisoned the nations throughout the centuries, which in our time has dragged Europe into its present hell, and which will continue to drag nations to hell until it is left behind, and an enlightened civilized Christian mind takes its place.

10. As has been made clear, a leading object of the Conference is to be the outlawing of international war. But *can* war be effectively outlawed? That it can at the present time or within any discernible future is stoutly denied by many.

This denial is not strange. It is to be expected. The truth is, the possibility or every important, new forward step that the world has ever taken has been denied by great numbers. Advances are always made in the face of multitudes who declare them impossible. Yet in spite of the denials, the world moves forward. The past has seen many advances, many reforms, almost as great as the outlawing and abolition of war. Single nations and whole groups of nations have abolished polygamy, infanticide, the punishing of supposed witches as criminals, religious persecution, slavery, duelling, piracy, the practice of settling difficulties between man and man by private revenge,—all of them being practices and evils that were very old, some of them essentially as old as war and just as deeply rooted in custom and public sentiment.

Nor is this all that is to be said. Single nations and whole groups of nations have rid themselves of certain kinds of wars,—tribal wars, class wars, wars between dukes, lords, barons, and petty princes, wars between provinces and rival cities, and religious wars; then why can they not take the further step of ridding themselves of larger wars between nations? The fact is, this step is not only as necessary, but it is as reasonable, as possible, and as practicable as the others. If England, once made up of petty rival states constantly warring with one another, could become peaceful by drawing all these into one commonwealth and making war between them illegal—which she actually accomplished; if France and Italy and other nations on the European continent could do the same, as they actually did; and if America can draw forty-eight nations with widely diverse antecedents and interests into one Union, one United States, and maintain peace among them, not by arms or physical force, but by moral force, public sentiment and law, as she has done and is doing,—if all these things not only could happen, but actually have been accomplished solely by

the power of law and the peaceful will of communities and nations, how can any intelligent mind doubt that the nations can be protected and made secure by the same mighty power?

11. Even if armies and navies were ever necessary for the protection of nations, that is no longer the case, because we have now got a stronger and surer source of protection in moral forces. Within the last fifty, and more particularly within the last twenty-five, years, by means of steamships, railways, commerce, and finance, uniting all lands; literature, circulating everywhere; universal postal facilities, telegraphs, ocean cables, wireless, and the radio, the world has been made one as it never was before. The result is that for the first time we are getting a world judgment, a world opinion, a world conscience, which grows more clear and powerful every year, and which from this time on is going to be a mighty protection, a mighty defense against aggression, for every just and peaceful nation. A hundred years ago two nations might fight, and it was nobody's business but their own. Now it is the whole world's business, because, now, what affects any nation affects all nations. Now war anywhere is a world calamity. Therefore, from this time on, nations will less and less dare to go to war in the face of the world's adverse moral judgment. More and more they will find it absolutely necessary to justify themselves in the eyes of mankind before they will dare to draw the sword.

We have some recent striking illustrations of the great power which world-wide public opinion has already obtained.

It was world public opinion that caused Japan to restore Shantung to China.

It was the realization that the world condemned his seizure of Corfu that caused, really compelled, Mussolini to surrender that coveted prize.

Everything shows that the peace-loving small nations of Europe are the safest nations on that war-torn continent. (This probably does not apply to the Balkan states, because they seem long to have shown themselves not peaceful but contentious in themselves. But it does apply to such nations as Switzerland, Holland, Norway, and Sweden.) These countries are exceptionally safe from attack from the stronger powers, not because of their armies, which are so small that any one of their great neighbors could crush them in a day; but because, in the face of the certain moral condemnation of the world, those great neighbors, however greedy of power and conquest, dare not seize them.

Even small and therefore militarily weak Belgium would probably have been safe in the late war, as the other small nations were, had she not refused to allow the German armies to pass through her territories to France, heavily armed France, which was the nation that Germany distrusted and feared, and therefore wanted to strike.

Germany, in the Great War, was really conquered by the public sentiment of the world. It was world distrust and fear of her, coupled with the universal condemnation of her violation of her obligations to Belgium, that aroused so many nations (our own included) to oppose and defeat her. If she had had world public sentiment—the world's moral approval—on her side, she would not have been defeated.

It has been public sentiment in Canada, England, and the United States, that has made our northern boundary line of more than three thousand miles between this country and the British Empire, the safest international boundary line in the world for more than a hundred years, and without a single regiment of soldiers or a single fort to protect it.

The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, settling difficulties between the 48 states of the Union, have no physical force behind them. What gives them their authority, which is always respected and obeyed, is public sentiment. The sole force on which they rely is moral, and it has proved sufficient.

Within the century between 1815 and 1915 no fewer than 627 cases of disagreement between nations, in Europe, America, and Asia, some of the disagreements involving large financial and other interests, and most of them such as might easily have led to war, were settled by arbitration, some through the Hague Tribunal and others through special commissions or courts chosen for the purpose. In all cases, the decisions rendered had no military or other physical force behind them, to make them effective, but only public opinion and moral force. Yet not a decision was repudiated. Every one was accepted by the nations concerned, and the awards were rendered as promptly and faithfully as if they had been enforced by armies and navies. And, what was of immense importance, because the only compulsion was moral, no hate was kindled and no seeds of future war were sown.

12. From these various illustrations we see how enormous and how fast increasing is the power of public opinion—especially world-wide public opinion—when it is intelligently appealed to. Do they not conclusively show that on this, and this alone, must all efforts, all movements and all plans to secure world-peace be based, if they are permanently to succeed? If they plant themselves on any other basis, then by what they themselves do, by their very appeal to force, they create the possibilities, if not the certainties, of endless future dissentions, hostilities, and conflicts. Physical force, physical compulsion, begets hate and opposition. Only moral force reconciles and heals. For this reason, only moral force, a mighty, persistent and world-wide appeal to moral force, can destroy war and bring to the world enduring peace. This can; sometime it will, unless by our delays and insane coquetting with militarism we allow war to destroy us first.

All this means, that the time has come when, in spite of all that on the surface of things appears to the contrary, world public opinion, the moral approval or condemnation of mankind, is outweighing guns. In other words, the time has quite arrived when what is needed to give us a world of peace and security, is, to organize the world's public opinion and moral judgment, intelligently, practically, courageously (and therefore effectively), against war and in support of peace.

This is what the above Plan aims to do.

13. To summarize the Plan again: Let this country call a real World Conference, a Conference of all the nations, charged with the supremely important fourfold task of Outlawing War, Disarming the World, setting in operation an untrammeled World Court, and creating a permanent International Legislative Assembly or Council, not to rule the nations but to serve them. This done, the present writer believes that the practically certain result will be, the cessation of organized international slaughter, and the transformation of a war-burdened, war-tortured earth into a world in

which every nation, large and small, no longer trusting to the delusive and futile military system of the past, will be protected from aggression and danger—*really* protected—by the mightiest power known or conceivable, namely, the organized and united public sentiment and moral support of the world.

14. To the high enterprise of rendering this infinitely important service to humanity, America is summoned—summoned by the very fact that she is the world's most powerful and influential nation. Will she hear and heed the solemn and urgent summons?

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

O Lord, How Long?

Darkness is settling on the continent of Europe, because the minds of those who hold the destiny of its peoples in their hands will not free themselves from the destructive passions they have yielded to. The passions which have created this ruinous situation are unprecedented in their intensity, as also is the falsehood upon which they are raised and fed upon.

The scene upon which these passions are particularly and acutely alive is watched by the whole world with anxiety—some collective units are necessarily neutral; others are jealous lest their peculiar interest, created in passion and thriving in darkness, may be injuriously affected; others fully involved in the situation, but conscious of their responsibility for the degree to which it has developed, although dying of anxiety, dare not stretch out a restoring hand, lest they also be engulfed in the gaping abyss; lastly, others who believe that, by shaking off the dust from the devastating storm they have helped to bring on, they can afford to watch from a distance, and with complacency, the consuming conflagration.

To describe the tragedy being enacted one must go to the Apocalypse. . . .

Is it not extraordinary that this immense catastrophe should have come upon the world at a time when man gloried in the progress of civilization attained, after he had established a high institute to control events, which might otherwise work out into calamities for humanity? Is it not extraordinary that the most energetic protest against this disastrous condition of things in Europe comes from the dark continent, Africa; that the noble voice raised for the protection of the oppressed in complete disregard of the Paris Peace Treaties, should also come from the same dark continent? I believe General Smuts, delegate for South Africa to the Paris Conference, was the only one who openly disapproved the peace treaties, and who at the time unhesitatingly proclaimed his protest against them in the columns of the *Times*. He is again in Europe, and has not failed to seize the opportunity to openly speak his mind, as regards the inhuman conduct of those directly responsible for the present wretched results, for the reigning havoc among nations.

The other noble voice from South Africa is that of Professor Gilbert Murray, delegate for that State to the League of Nations. He was the first who stood up for the rights granted by the treaties but completely disregarded by the victors, because they are rights granted to the vanquished. The little humanity expressed in these one-sided treaties, has never been put to the proof. The victors have been most severe, merciless in the application of the clauses in the treaties favoring their interests, and full of contempt for those which made demands upon them. Might, in disregard of humanity, dictated these peace treaties; might, in disregard of right, is working for their application.

I ask again, Is it not extraordinary that all this load of passion, of might is right, of denial of justice to peoples struggling for bare existence, should emanate from a center from which were flashed to the world *the rights of man*, from *la ville lumière*? This magnificent proclamation—*the rights of man*—raised the French nation in the world's estimation, and the world was grateful, and France was honored for it. "The times are changed, and we are changed with them." (*Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.*)

The Paris peace treaties were proclaimed from Paris, in them *the rights of man* were denied to millions. Here and there peoples were raised from nothing, even to undeserved greatness, with the right to oppress others; other peoples were rent asunder and mercilessly subjected to hated alien rule, there to groan out the rest of their miserable lives.

Here there can be no question either of gratitude or honor due to France.

Darkness more dense is covering the face of the earth, and is further obscuring the minds of men. Those whose eyes are open, in Europe as well as in America, and whose duty it is to bestir themselves to save what remains to be saved from the all but engulfed in the abyss, are holding back, lest they also be irretrievably drawn into it.

There is no promise of salvage and no self sacrifice.

It is the most frightful situation the world has ever witnessed!

"O Lord, how long" is it to be "Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant"?

P. M. MATTHÉEFF.

Sofia.

Sayings of Gandhi

We are thieves, in a way, if we take anything that we do not need and keep it from somebody else who needs it. Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if everybody took only enough for himself and no more, there would be no poverty in the world, and no man dying of starvation. And so long as we have this inequality, I shall have to say we are thieves. I do not want to dispossess those who have possessions; but personally, those of us who want to see darkness out of light have to follow this doctrine. In India we have three million people who have to be satisfied with only one meal a day, consisting of a chapati containing no fat, and a pinch of salt.

Passive resistance is a more powerful weapon than all the sticks, stones and gunpowder in the world.

I am fully convinced that no body of men can make themselves into a nation or perform great tasks unless they become as true as steel.

The Golden Calf in California

Blind worship of material success while doing lip service to nice sounding phrases, such as civic consciousness, law and order, and the rights of property, has at last gotten the people of California into a predicament which puzzles them not a little. For four years the forces of reaction ran amuck. These had full sway in Sacramento, their voice dominated public life so that any mention of justice or liberty, except in the meritorious abstract, was greeted with bellows of rage and howling cries of "Bolshevism."

Along with other things, a criminal syndicalist law with "teeth" was passed. The courts, nonchalantly, started to grind and a steady stream of members of the Industrial Workers of the World began to pour into San Quentin and Folsom prisons. Without doubt public opinion, such as it was, approved this law. The good citizens of California, believing that everybody must be possessed of their own fears of prison, thought it would be but a short time before the state would be rid of the "wicked and notorious I. W. W." Deputations were even sent into neighboring states to urge the passage of similar laws. The little commercial clubs continued to mouth their nice sounding phrases. The courts ground on, and newspapers made but three mentions of each case—the arrest of a few I. W. W.'s, the start of the trial, and the result, identical in each case—conviction.

After some hesitancy in adapting itself to the exigencies of this situation, the I. W. W. established a defense to care for arrested members while the organization itself went right ahead organizing the big construction projects, the lumber industry, and the marine industry. To members of the I. W. W. criminal syndicalism was of secondary importance, the real business in hand was organization. As fast as one group of active organizers was arrested other groups took their place. The jails, hoppers leading to the grinding courts, began to fill up. The I. W. W. used this persecution to good effect in organization work. Its Defense mailed circulars telling the citizens that they were lending themselves and paying the costs of a persecution in the interest and profit of the trusts.

Evidence presented against these I. W. W.'s is of a peculiar nature. The same three or four witnesses are used by the state in each case. Most of these were at some time members and two of them are of too low a moral character to describe. All of them admit that at some time during their membership in the I. W. W. they were in the pay of corporations interested in destroying unionism. The same documentary evidence is used in each case and consists of literature circulated by the organization many years ago. It is now so scarce that it cannot be found outside of California courtrooms. Each sample is now covered with the exhibit stamps of all the courts where these trials have taken place. Indeed, trials must be so scheduled that the evidence can be sent from county to county. Certain passages of this literature would seem rather extreme when read by themselves, but the contest always qualifies. However, only certain parts are read by the various district attorneys and even then the cases are so weak on the violence and destruction score that it is always necessary to fall back on the prejudice of the jury toward the "ultimate aim of the I. W. W."

For travesty on justice the evidence alone should condemn the courts of the State of California. But it is not from a point of view of justice that the citiens of California are beginning to condemn the Criminal Syndicalist Law. It appears that this law costs too much; that important civil suits are being delayed; and that regular criminal cases are being continued indenitely, if the culprits happen to be out on bond. Then, too, the results are becoming unsatisfactory. Out of thirty-nine acknowledged members tried during May, thirty were acquitted or dismissed, three were favored nine to three by a jury, and only six were convicted.

Then came the I. W. W. general strike. All sorts of atrocities were expected but none materialized. Instead, the bitterest enemies of the I. W. W. had to admit that there was absolutely no violence or destruction. The demands included such unheard-of things as release of all persons held for their war-time opinions, release of all men held for organization activities, and the *repeal of the Criminal Syndicalist Law.* Decidedly something was wrong, but what, California cannot yet decide.

The average citizen of California hates the I. W. W. with all his soul. He loves the big corporations and the material success they represent. They are his Golden Calf. He frowns upon all mention of the working conditions in industry as disastrously injurious to the health and morals of the working class. It seems unfortunate to him that the I. W. W. should call such forceful attention to these conditions and offer such an appalling remedy. Certainly, he thinks, they should all be sent to prison, but alas it seems to do no good. In fact, the result is quite the contrary.

Notions of applied justice have no place in the make-up of those who feel the sufferings of others only through their own pocketbooks. The cost of continued persecution is prohibitive and the Californian realizes dimly that the state is becoming odious in the eyes of the world. He cannot understand this, for civic consciousness has taught him to believe ardently that "California is the best and greatest state in the Union," to say nothing of having the "finest climate in the world!"

VIRGINIA LEE BIGELOW.

FIRE

The burning crater——its lava at white heat—
Bursting forth from hidden bowels of clay,
Fire—driven by relentless force carrying desolation everywhere;
This mad fire, this fearsome fire,
From earth's vast deeps—

Brick chimneys tall—belching smoke—
Telling of hellish heat below
Where the red steel is poured by iron-nerved men,
Who release the energy, long stored and hid away
Till fire—man-tamed—shall set it free—

Spirit fire—God's urge in man—
Transforming, making strong the soul,
Leaping from mind to mind,
Sleeping in human hearts till it glows, living flame,
To test his handiwork—
Divine energy,
In crater mart or human heart,
I bow before thy power
Alway.

BELLA NEUMANN ZILBERMAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

A LETTER FROM GERMANY

Dear UNITY:

Please allow me to jot down a few thoughts that passed through my mind as I spent the evening of the *Heilige Abend* (Christmas Eve) among the German students. The *Wirtschaftsbeihilfe* of the University and the Quakers had generously offered to all needy students the cost of the fares to and from home during the Christmas holidays. Those who couldn't avail themselves of this generous offer due either to their people living in the occupied territories and their inability to get the necessary passports, or due to their work for the approaching examinations, were given a happy and homely Christmas feast, so that they might not feel too lonely and forsaken on this *Heilige Abend,* when in every German home, however humble, the Christmas tree burns; and all members of the family gather round it and sing their beautiful Christmas carols.

The students were given a good and hearty dinner, the Christmas tree burnt, that beautiful song *"Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht"* ("Oh, Still Night! Holy Night!") and other carols were sung, and at the end Santa Claus hadn't forgotten to give to each of these grown up children presents of cakes, fruits and most appreciated and useful of all, two big loaves of bread. Two-thirds of the expenses of this evening were borne by the local Friends' organization. As I sat that evening among the students, watching their happy contented faces, I felt as I never did before, the abiding human value of the work of love and human charity which the Friends are carrying on at the present moment among those people of Central Europe, who are imperceptibly and slowly but all the same surely perishing and being crushed down under the deadly grip of a peace treaty which was no treaty of Peace at all, but in the frank cynical avowal of one of its chief creators a continuation of the war by other methods! What didn't this quiet Christmas festival mean to these young students—what message of love and human brotherliness did not this meeting of Germans, Englishmen and Americans bring to them, who otherwise would have had to spend this evening in their cold, cheerless, unheated rooms or barracks. It is these moments, these facts that help to resist the surging tide of despair that otherwise overwhelm the soul when one coldly and dispassionately considers the present political and social condition of Europe.

A great nation that has contributed so much, intellectually and morally to the progress of the world, has been allowed during the last five years slowly to bleed to death with the apparent silent connivance or callous indifference of the rest of the world! While the Pundits have been breaking their heads over the means and ways of bleeding Germany white and yet keeping her alive,—in fact trying to perform the miracle of killing the goose and at the same time making her lay the golden eggs!—death and starvation have been abroad claiming their victims among the aged and the young and the sucking babies! Walk through the streets of any German town and you will read the results of the five years of Entente after-war diplomacy written large in the pale, anæmic, wistful faces of school children with legs thin as match sticks, in the hungry looking haggard faces of the university students, in the rickety babies born of undernourished mothers! In the present state of hate and strife and blatant unabashed greediness, national and individual, where victors are trampling on the elementary rights of the vanquished, and a few moral wretches and unscrupulous, in each country—the war profiteers and industrialists—are getting fatter at the expense of the vast majority of their fellow men, it is the Friends who have been going round this distracted continent as messengers of peace and love and human fellowship, bringing succor to the helpless, hope to the despairing and love to those whose souls would otherwise have been poisoned with bitterness and hatred! In this Christmas week let me therefore earnestly appeal to all the generous hearted, to men and women of good will—who want to work for reconciliation, who cannot bear to see the Arts and Sciences and the things of the mind dying out of Central Europe and converting it into a spiritual desert fit only for the abode of wealthy peasants and industrial plutocrats, to open their purse strings and contribute generously to the funds of the European Students Relief Committee. Let them come to the succor of student communities of Central Europe who with undaunted courage are fighting against overwhelming odds to satisfy their thirst for knowledge and hand on its torch undimmed to future generations.

With a pious wish and hope let me end this letter. In a fortnight's time England will most probably have a Labor government. The fervent prayers and best wishes of men of good will all over the world will follow the efforts of a Labor government to bring peace and reconciliation to a distracted world. Let a Labor government strike a new note in England's foreign affairs policy—let it bring back the sense of human values again into politics. That party which is the chosen representative of the vast mass of silent suffering humanity, must be especially sensitive to the suffering of its brothers and sisters in other parts of the world; and a burning sense of indignation at all the wrongs and injustices, domestic as well as international, that scar the face of humanity, and a firm and determined resolve to fight these wrongs must be the very life-breath and inspiration of a Labor party that is worthy of the name! Let the party, in case it comes to power, courageously declare, that she is out for justice and fair play being meted out to Germany, not because in the first place it will improve England's trade and relieve unemployment—though that is quite true and all-important—but *mainly* because humanity and righteousness demand it, because cruelty and inhumanity and callous indifference to the suffering of others, are the greatest of sins that can debase the character of individuals as well as nations! Till now the foreign policies of all nations have been simply power policies and instruments for the satisfaction and realization of national egoism. Let the foreign policy of a Labor government definitely and courageously break with this barbarous conception of the relation of nations to nations and substitute for it the idea of brotherhood and mutual co-operation among them. And let the motto, the inspiration, of all its actions, all its policies, be that "Righteousness exalteth a nation"!

Berlin, Germany. A. M. BOSE.

CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

[The following is an extract from a letter received by Sydney Strong from the wife of a leading German scholar, residing in Berlin. It is a fresh glimpse of conditions in Germany, and is dated December 12, 1923.]

"Since you left Germany the general situation has grown worse still. Thousands and thousands of children are starving of hunger, and grown people too.

"Many do their best to help. In all parts of the town kitchens are organized where all poor people get a gratis meal, and other kitchens for people who pay a little fee. The American Quakers begin again the feeding in the schools, and your countrymen send much money and food.

"The English Quakers care especially for the students and the middle class. In the Royal Castle an Austrian lady, Mrs. Schwarzwald, does give a splendid dinner for a very modest price to 1500 persons, and the same meal gratis for 800. She opens in January still other great kitchens in the West."

NEWS FROM GERMANY

(From our Correspondent)

Dear Mr. Holmes:

. . . I was recently in Germany—in Cologne, Bonn, Berlin. Dear friend, it is cruel and immoral to see the attempt to starve slowly a great nation. It can not be done, but why, oh, why don't the churches mass together and shout it must not be done! I saw my friends living on bread and margerine morning and midday, and perhaps potatoes and, great luck, a little meat for the evening. Few folks had any wood or coal in for the winter. Worst of all, the hate! Now tell this!—my refined German friend, who had been a prisoner of war in England and so knew what war was, and a year ago he hated it, said—"Better ten years of the trenches than this present life." PUT THIS IN UNITY IN BIG LETTERS. You see how Germany is thinking. Never in human history was anything so evil as this desire to starve Germany. UNITY opposes this idea and I thank God for your paper.

FRED HANKINSON.

SPIRITUAL HEALING

Editors of UNITY:

I find myself in quite a dilemma! I have subscribed to your paper for a long time and felt a real personal interest in it, for I feel that Dr. John H. Holmes has been a real friend to me in many ways. I have been refreshed by your honest stand against war and your uncovering of the iniquity of the League of Nations. I have loved your stand for the brotherhood of man—all nations of one blood. I have found you speaking the truth about Russia fearlessly—and then, Oh, what

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

A HEART-BREAKING STORY

Writes Ethel Cooper, in the *Friends' Intelligencer* of February 15th:

"I came back from Warsaw a few weeks ago, and broke the long homeward journey in an old University town of Germany, and spent an evening and a morning searching out old friends.

"The mother of a former fellow-student answered my evening ring, and I sat for an hour with her and her two daughters, to hear the story of their life, as it is nowadays.

"'There is little to tell—we just sew and sew and sew—all day long, and till 11 at night, or till we can't see any more. Mother cooks, and cleans, and washes, for we haven't time for that, and her eyes are too dim to sew any longer. We can earn enough for three of the 3-lb. loaves of black bread a week, and just a few potatoes, and perhaps a cabbage or two, but it can't go on for much longer. You come from the outside world and hear so much more—surely it must get better soon? We hear so little, for of course we can't afford newspapers now, but don't you think it *must* get better soon?'

"And I went to my hotel sick at heart.

"The next morning I called on the leading nerve-specialist of the town.

"'I am sorry you will not be able to see my wife,' he said. 'She goes out charing every morning now. Oh yes, I am very busy—all my days are full, but nobody can honestly earn enough to live on in these times, and she insists on helping in that way. Lunch with you in your hotel? No, my friend, those days are past—in old times that was hospitality, now it would be charity. Do not be offended, but we cannot accept it.'

"'False pride!' said my travelling companion. Perhaps it was, but I did not dare to argue.

"And the last was an appointment in a cafe with an old friend—a friendship of over 20 years' standing—a gifted journalist, a lifelong worker in the cause of peace and of international fellowship. Last March, when his newspaper could no longer employ him, he went into a gas-factory as a laborer; now he is out of work and living on an unemployment dole which will buy just three loaves of bread in the week, and nothing more—nothing more at all. He is thin to emaciation, his eyes are very bright, and there is a cough which speaks of the disease from which 24 per cent of the German population is said to be suffering.

"'Come away,' said my traveling companion. 'Let's get out of this—I can't stand it. What right have we to be living in a decent hotel—well fed and comfortable, when millions around us are starving? Let's get home, and see if we can get people to do something. Of course they will tell us that we ought to look after our own needy and unemployed, but if we can only make them understand, they *will* do something.'

"So here we are, and all our days are haunted, and all our nightly dreams are a tangle of memories of the miseries we have seen. And we cry aloud to all of you—all of you well-fed and comfortable—for help. Will you 'pass by on the other side?'"

Contributions sent to the Quaker Relief Fund for Germany, care of *The Friends' Intelligencer*, 180 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., will be promptly forwarded.

GOLDEN NAMES

In the frieze of the New York Community Church auditorium appear the names of fourteen great men. In the church paper Mr. Holmes makes the following statement regarding the selection:

I have been asked by the Editorial Board of *The News* to make a statement about the names of the fourteen great men inscribed upon the frieze of our church auditorium—to tell why these names were chosen, and what they represent.

So far as I am able at this time to analyze the factors involved in the process of selection, two ideas or principles were uppermost. In the first place, the names must be those of men accepted by consensus of world-opinion as pre-eminent spiritual leaders. Each name must stand forth, in a distinctly personal sense, as a precious thing. In the second place, the names must be those of men who typify not only personally but historically the progress from most ancient times down to our own time and place, of that universal religion of the free spirit, to which our church is uniquely dedicated. Hence the Golden Names:

Jesus and *Isaiah*—the supreme embodiments of Judaism and Christianity, the two closely related religious movements which constitute our heritage.

Buddha—the supreme spiritual genius of the Orient, a symbol of the great brotherhood of the eastern world.

Socrates—the outstanding ethical and religious figure of the classic world, a symbol of the march of the free spirit through Greece and Rome.

St. Francis—the noblest soul since Jesus—the fadeless flower of Roman Catholicism.

Savonarola—the outstanding religious prophet of his day—the forerunner of the Reformation.

Luther—the leader and symbol of the Reformation.

Fox—the noblest of Protestants, and thus the symbol of Protestantism at its best.

Wesley—the Protestant Savonarola—forerunner of modern Liberalism.

Channing—the outstanding religious leader of the 19th century—the Luther of Liberalism—symbol of the new Reformation.

Tolstoy and *Mazzini*—the two supreme moral forces of Europe in the 19th century—symbols of the present-day secularization of religion.

Emerson and *Lincoln*—America's offerings to the pantheon of humanity—the religion of the spirit come to life in the greatest seer and the greatest democrat of modern times.

All these names represent figures of spiritual revolt and emancipation. They typify the endless struggle of the soul to escape from creeds, institutions, conventions, customs, dead conformities, and to "make all things new" forever. They are all truth-seekers, exemplars of freedom, haters of injustice and oppression, lovers of men, identifiers of religion with the social conscience. These prophets have led the way to where we stand today; and

---

a fall, your editorial on January twenty-fourth denying the possibility of spiritual healing and saying that the healing of the body through religion was not the proper aim of religion at all!

My dear friends, for twenty-four years, this family of three has had no material help but has been healed of cataract, blood-poisoning in its worst form, ptomaine poisoning and any number of other things simply through the prayer of affirmation of God's allness and love and protection for His children. Your article had the same effect on me that it would have to a man who has just swum the Hudson, to tell him that it could not be done! There are more things, evidently, than are dreamt of in your philosophy! Because a thing has not happened in the realm of your experiences, is it wise to say, "These things cannot be"? And this, too, when hundreds of thousands can give opposite testimony. Why take part of Jesus' testimony and build the Community Church on it and set yourselves up to discard the rest—the healing part! He is reported to have said, "These signs shall follow them that believe (understand). They shall lay their hands" (hands meaning spiritual power as in the statement, the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save) "on the sick and they shall recover." Even if you feel that you have no proof that he ever said it, the statement has been proved true numberless times.

I am a member of no church—I do not think the churches justify their existence in this age, if they ever did—but I do feel very strongly that because the ministers of these organizations are not able to heal by spiritual means they should not try to cover their spiritual poverty by saying that it is not the function of religion to heal. How much better to say, "It should be done, and I pray that I may be given grace to learn this divine way." Many have so felt, but immediately stumbled over the exercise of the power of the human mind which in Jesus' time was called Beelzebub and in our time is called hypnotism—and the last state of that man is worst than the first.

Spiritual healing is here—it is open for any one to learn who lives a clean honest life and the joy of this healing—its uplifting effect on the morals of mankind shows that it is of God, for a bitter fountain cannot send forth sweet waters. The long, long prayer of humanity has been answered and God is indeed a present help in sickness as well as in sin and sorrow.

I would consider it just of you to publish this letter and so give both sides of this question to your readers. I would not have one hopeless soul turned away in despair because of your article. "God is, this is enough to know."

Cordially the friend and well-wisher of your splendid little magazine.

Feb. 3, 1924. MAY BARRIS.

now we do what they would have us do in the unending fulfillment of the ideal of the free fellowship of mankind.

The News. —*John Haynes Holmes.*

BIRTHDAYS IN MARCH OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Birthdays in March of political prisoners, confined in American "State" Prisons, are announced by the Workers' National Prison Comfort Club, 2923 Chestnut Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as follows:

At Walla Walla, Washington, Box 520: March 2, Britt Smith, No. 9408; March 4, Ray Becker, No. 9413; March 16, O. C. Bland, No. 9409.

At San Quentin, California (*San Quentin Prison*):

March 5, C. A. Drew, No. 37654; March 10, J. B. Childs, No. 38109; March 12, William Baker, No. 35713; March 17, Omar J. Eaton, No. 36627; March 18, Lauri Manni, No. 37704; March 25, Pierre Jans, No. 38117; March 27, Herbert W. White, No. 37909.

At County Jail, Sacramento, California: March 20, D. C. Russel.

Cora Meyer, National Secretary, invites friends and sympathizers to send birthday cards and letters to these political prisoners; money is advisable.

A political prisoner writes, "I take great pleasure in writing you these lines to thank you for the good work you are doing for the Political Prisoners. Correspondence is a great comfort."

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